

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INR-07 SS-15 NSC-05 /038 W

----- 008458

R 181310Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0301

INFO AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

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EO 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, MOPS,HCU, AO, BB

SUBJECT: CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA

REF STATE 295496

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1. THE INTEREST OF THE BARBADIAN PUBLIC IN THE SUBJECT OF CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA HAS DECLINED MARKEDLY SINCE REACHING ITS APOGEE IN DECEMBER. THIS DECLINE MAY BE SEEN AS THE PREDICTABLE RESULT OF THE END OF BARBADIAN INVOLVEMENT IN SUCH INTERVENTION (THROUGH CUBA'S USE OF BARBADOS AS A REFUELING POINT FOR ITS TROOP AIRLIFT) AND ALSO AS A RETURN TO THE NORM, FOR BARBADIANS GENERALLY TEND TO PAY LITTLE ATTENTION TO EVENTS OUTSIDE THE CARIBBEAN AREA, US AND UK. NEVERTHELESS, THE REVELATION OF CUBA'S APPARENT DUPLICITY SHOCKED MANY THINKING BARBADIANS AND CAUSED THEM TO REFLECT AS NEVER BEFORE ON THE DANGERS INHERENT IN ANY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH CUBA. AT THE SAME TIME, THE OPPOSITION BARBADOS LABOR PARTY, REALIZING THAT SOME POLITICAL ADVANTAGE MIGHT ACCRUE TO IT FROM THE GOB'S MISHANDLING OF THE AFFAIR, SOUGHT TO EXPLOIT POPULAR CONCERN BY RAISING THE BOGEY OF A DEFENSELESS BARBADOS LEFT OPEN TO INVASION THROUGH GOVERNMENT INEPTITUDE. THIS OPPOSITION ACTIVITY

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HAS BEEN FULLY REPORTED IN THE LOCAL DAILY, ADVOCATE-NEWS.

WITHIN RECENT DAYS, THE ADVOCATE-NEWS HAS ALSO CARRIED TWO EDITORIALS ON THE SUBJECT, AS WELL AS AN ARTICLE BY VETERAN POLITICAL COMMENTATOR E.L.C. (E.L. "JIMMY" COZIER); ALL OF THESE DIRECT THEIR FIRE PRINCIPALLY AT CUBA BUT EDITORIALS FIND FAULT WITH USG AS WELL. END LOU

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2. FIRST EDITORIAL (PUBLISHED IN FEB 1 EDITION) COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS "THE ANGOLA WAR CONTINUES TO BE A SOURCE OF DUPLICITY, AND IF ANYTHING IS BEING TREATED BY THOSE INVOLVED AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHARPEN THEIR TECHNIQUES IN THE ART OF DOUBLE TALK. LAST WEEK PRIME MINISTER DR. FIDEL CASTRO OF CUBA IN TALKS WITH CANADA'S PRIME MINISTER, MR. PIERRE TRUDEAU, CLAIMED THAT HE ONLY GOT INVOLVED IN THE FIGHTING IN ANGOLA ON A LARGE SCALE AFTER THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAD SENT THEIR TROOPS INTO ANGOLA. MR. TRUDEAU WENT SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT CASTRO HAD TAKEN THE ACTION ONLY AFTER A 'GREAT DEAL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING FOR THE SITUATION.' BUT JUST A FEW DAYS BEFORE CASTRO MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE HAD NO APOLOGY TO MAKE FOR SENDING CUBANS TO FIGHT IN ANGOLA SINCE HE SAW CUBA'S ROLE AS ONE OF EXPORTING REVOLUTION...

"MEANWHILE THE DIPLOMATIC GAME OF 'DON'T TOUCH ME WARRING CASTRO' ALSO HAS A NEW PARTICIPANT. THIS TIME IT IS CANADA THAT HAS FORBIDDEN THE CUBANS FROM USING THEIR AIRFIELDS TO TRANSPORT TROOPS AND ARMS TO ANGOLA. BARBADOS, IT WILL BE RECALLED WAS THE FIRST NATION TO TELL CASTRO HANDS OFF SINCE THE USE OF OUR AIRPORT FACILITIES BY THE CUBANS TO FERRY THEIR MEN AND ARMS TO ANGOLA DID NOT MESH WITH OUR POLICY OF FRIENDS OF ALL AND ENEMIES OF NONE.

"THE CANADIAN SITUATION PRESENTS AN EVEN MORE INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT. THE UNITED STATES COMPLAINED TO THE CANADIANS ABOUT THE CUBAN FLIGHTS BUT IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT ACTION ON THE MATTER HAS BEEN TAKEN ONLY AFTER THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER, MR PIERRE TRUDEAU, HAD COMPLETED A TWO-DAY VISIT TO CUBA. THE BAN ON THE CUBAN TROOP FLIGHTS HAS COME TWO DAYS AFTER MR. TRUDEAU COMPLETED HIS VISIT THERE. IT HAS BEEN NICELY TIMED NOT TO BE AN EMBARRASSMENT EITHER TO MR. TRUDEAU OR DR. CASTRO...

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"AND AS A BACKDROP TO ALL THIS THE FORD ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS OF GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS PREPARED TO SERIOUSLY PRESSURE RUSSIA ON ANGOLA BY ASKING CONGRESS TO DELAY PLANS TO EASE TRADE RESTRICTIONS WITH MOSCOW. THIS IS ALMOST COMICAL SINCE THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN LIVING FOR YEARS AND GOING THEIR OWN WAY WITHOUT US TRADE, BUT OBTAINING UNITED STATES GRAIN WHEN THEY WANT IT.

"IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A DIFFERENT MATTER IF DR. HENRY KISSINGER HAD THREATENED NOT TO SELL THE RUSSIANS ANY MORE GRAIN IF THEY DO NOT WITHDRAW FROM ANGOLA. BUT ONLY THE MOST STUPID WOULD EXPECT THIS..."

3. SECOND EDITORIAL (FEBRUARY 13) STATED : "...THE ODD INCIDENT CAN JOLT US INTO REALISING THAT AS A NATION OUR OUTLOOK AND ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IS NOT NECESSARILY AN ISOLATED FACTOR IN THE OVERALL AFFAIRS OF OUR COUNTRY. THE EMBARRASSMENT WE FACED WHEN CUBAN FLIGHTS WERE BEING MADE THROUGH SEAWELL TO FERRY FIGHTING MEN TO ANGOLA WAR IS ONE EXAMPLE OF HOW WE CAN SUDDENLY FIND OURSELVES IN THE MIDDLE OF ISSUES, WITHOUT MUCH WARNING..."

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FM AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

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"EXCEPT FOR THE OCCASION WHEN OUR PRIME MINISTER, MR. ERROL BARROW, EARLY IN OUR INDEPENDENCE CAME OUT STRONGLY ABOUT THE RHODESIAN SITUATION, SO MUCH SO THAT TO MANY HIS COMMENTS AT THE TIME SOUNDED LIKE FIGHTING WORDS, WE HAVE NOT BEEN AGGRESSIVE IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY APPROACH. INSTEAD, WE HAVE RELIED ON A BROAD CONCEPT OF FRIEND OF ALL, ENEMY OF NONE, IN TAKING MOST STANDS.

"IT IS NOT ALWAYS CONVENIENT TO RELY ON THIS FRIENDLY APPROACH IN A WORLD THAT STILL RETAINS STRONG TENDENCIES TOWARDS POLARISATION HOWEVER LOUDLY MANY COUNTRIES MIGHT SHOUT ABOUT BEING NONALIGNED.

"IN SOME CASES WE HAVE BEEN FORCED TO BE PRAGMATIC IN OUR APPROACH, ENDEAVOURING WHEREVER POSSIBLE TO REAP SOME BENEFIT FROM OUR FRIENDLY ASSOCIATIONS..."

"BEARING THIS IN MIND, WE ARE NOT EASILY FOOLED BY THE CLAIMS OF FIDEL CASTRO THAT THE ONLY REASON WHY CUBAN BLOOD IS BEING SHED IN ANGOLA IS BECAUSE OF ENTHUSIASM FOR THE 'SOCIALIST' CAUSE. THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN STRONG IN ITS SUPPORT OF THE MPLA (POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA) EVEN BEFORE CUBA GOT INTO THE ACTION CANNOT BE DISCARDED IN ASSESSING CUBA'S PRESENT INVOLVEMENT. "AS TO MR. FORDE'S CLAIM (FORDE IS OPPOSITION M.P.) THAT BARBADOS CANNOT AFFORD TO BLOW HOT AND COLD ON ANGOLA, BUT MUST BE PREPARED TO PURSUE A POSITIVE POLICY IF IT INTENDS TO COME DOWN ON THE SIDE OF THE MPLA, OUR PRESENT SITUATION WHERE THE MPLA IS CONCERNED IS NOT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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UNIQUE. MANY OF THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES MUCH CLOSER TO THE ACTION HAVE OPTED FOR A WAIT-AND-SEE APPROACH. NOW THAT THEY ARE CONVICTED THAT THE MPLA IS OVERRUNNING THE OPPOSITION THEY HAVE BEGUN TO SHOW ACCEPTANCE. THIS TYPE OF DIPLOMACY IS NOT UNCOMMON AND THERE IS PRECEDENCE FOR IT THROUGHOUT HISTORY. IT IS PART OF THE PRAGMATIC APPROACH.

"AND IN THE SAME VEIN IT WOULD BE INTERESTING TO HAVE A SERIOUS STUDY MADE OF HOW TOURISM AFFECTS, AND IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE AFFECTING OUR FOREIGN POLICY. WITHOUT REACTING TO THE PULL OF POLARISATION, BUT MINDFUL OF OUR GREAT RELIANCE ON THE TOURIST MARKET TO THE NORTH, IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO APPRECIATE HOW OUR COUNTRY MUST SEE ITSELF IN A CONTEXT WHERE ISSUES INVOLVING THE PEOPLE WHO COMPRISE THIS MARKET ARE CONCERNED.

"WE CAN FRET AND FUME AS WE LIKE ABOUT THIS REALITY, BUT IT REMAINS A REALITY. THE WARNING THAT HAS COME FROM THE US STATE DEPARTMENT ABOUT GREATER ATTENTION BEING PAID BY THE US TO HOW COUNTRIES NOW RECEIVING US AID VOTE ON MATTERS IN WHICH THE US HAS AN INTEREST, IS ALSO A REALITY. COUNTRIES RICH AND POOR, DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING, TEND TO LOOK AFTER THEIR OWN INTERESTS AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. AT TIMES THIS IS DONE WITH HARDLY ANY DIPLOMATIC NICETIES, AND WITH NO ATTEMPT WHATSOEVER TO DISGUISE THE POWER THEY CAN WIELD, FOR THERE IS ALSO SUCH AN APPROACH AS 'BIG STICK' DIPLOMACY.

"COUNTRIES WITH LIMITED RESOURCES, WHILE NOT SELLING THEIR SOULS, NOR SUBSCRIBING TO EMASCULATED DIPLOMATIC POSTURES, CANNOT AFFORD TO DISREGARD ON WHAT SIDE THEIR BREAD IS BUTTERED, FOR WHAT IS POSITIVE TO THEIR PEOPLE IS THE MOBILISATION OF ALL POSSIBLE FORCES TO FIGHT POVERTY. FOR THIS CAUSE COUNTRIES HAVE EVEN CHANGED THEIR IDEOLOGY."

4. E L C, IN COLUMN WHICH APPEARED IN ADVOCATE-NEWS ON FEB 7, CASTIGATED SOVIET UNION AND CUBA IN FOLLOWING TERMS: "...TWO WORLD STATES PERSONS LAST WEEK ISSUED WARNINGS TO THE WORLD, TWO VOICES WITH BUT A SINGLE THOUGHT--TO SERVE THE WORLD'S PEOPLES (AND THEIR OWN) BEST.

"THE FIRST VOICE WAS THAT OF PRESIDENT KENNETH KUANDA OF ZAMBIA. HE USED THE STRONGEST LANGUAGE TO CONDEMN THE RUSSIAN AND CUBAN ROLES IN ANGOLA, LIKENING THEM TO 'A PLUNDERING TIGER AND ITS DEALY CUBS COMING IN THROUGH THE BACK DOOR.

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"THE SECOND VOICE, LESS LIKELY TO BE HEARD FOR THE TIME BEING, WAS THAT OF MRS. MARGARET THATCHER, OPPOSITION LEADER IN BRITAIN, AND A LADY WHO REFUSES TO EMPLOY DOUBLE-TALK AND POLITICAL GIBBERISH IN ORDER TO WIN VOTES FROM IDIOTS.

"PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S ON THE OTHER HAND, SHOULD SURELY SET SUCH IDIOTS THINKING. BELIEVING AS THEY APPEAR TO DO, THAT RUSSIA CAN DO NO WRONG, AND ALSO BELIEVING THAT AFRICAN SOCIALISTS CAN DO NO WRONG, THEY MAY WELL BE HARD PUT TO IT TO RECONCILE THEIR CONFLICTING ARTICLES OF FAITH.

"UNDOUBTEDLY, PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S CONTRIBUTION WILL BE OF THE GREATEST VALUE. THIS WILL, AT THE VERY LEAST, EXPOSE THE FALLACY THAT SOCIALISM IS, BY DEFINITION, INCAPABLE OF ERROR, WHICH SO MANY OF ITS ADHERENTS ACCEPT AS ESSENTIAL DOGMA.

".MR KAUNDA'S PRESTIGE MAY PERSUADE THE LOTUS EATERS THAT IN THEIR ABJECT SCURRY TO WIN RUSSIAN FAVOUR, THEY ARE MERELY PUSHING THEIR HEADS INTO THE MOUTHS OF THE IMPERIALIST LION, AND THAT IMPERIALISM IS NOT SOLELY THE PREROGATIVE OF MONARCHIES AND/OR CAPITALIST REPUBLICS.

"MRS THATCHER, CHRISTENED (IF I DARE USE THAT WORD IN CONNECTION WITH THE KREMLIN) THE IRON LADY BY THE RUSSIANS, HAS BEEN KEEPING UP HER DEFENCE OF FREEDOMS AND VALUES, AND ALSO WARNING OF THE IMPERIALIST AIMS OF RUSSIAN MILITARY STRENGTH.

"NOR IS SHE WORRIED ABOUT WHAT THEY CALL HER. 'THEY ARE WELCOME' SHE TOLD HER FINCHLEY CONSTITUENTS LAST WEEK, 'TO CALL ME WHAT THEY LIKE IF THEY BELIEVE WE SHOULD IGNORE THE BUILD-UP OF RUSSIAN STRENGTH... THAT WE SHOULD NOT DISTURB THEIR DREAMS OF DETENTE BY WORRYING OVER THE COMMUNIST PRESENCE IN ANGOLA'"

5. IN SPEECH BEFORE BOYS' FOUNDATION SCHOOL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION ON FEB 4, I ADDRESSED SUBJECT OF ANGOLA AMONG OTHERS. I POINTED OUT THAT, THOUGH SITUATION WOULD NO DOUBT BE SETTLED IN DUE COURSE, IT MIGHT TURN OUT THAT ANGOLANS HAD MERELY EXCHANGED ONE IMPERIALIST MASTER FOR ANOTHER. I ALSO NOTED THAT WEST INDIES SHOULD ASK THEMSELVES WHAT KIND OF FOREIGN POLICY THEY SHOULD PURSUE IN RELATION TO A NEIGHBOR WITH CAPACITY TO SEND ITS TROOPS THOUSANDS OF MILES TO IMPOSE ITS POLITICAL WILL AND SUGGESTED THEY MIGHT WELL BE NEXT IN LINE FOR LIBERATION. MY REMARKS WERE RECEIVED BY MY AUDIENCE WITH APPARENT APPROVAL AND SUBSEQUENTLY REPORTED EXTENSIVELY IN ADVOCATE-NEWS.

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## Message Attributes

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